1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

lands, he grills fish for a meal; when a feast is being cooked, a man assists his wife and children; when his wife is sick or gadding about, he may cook because no one expects him to go hungry; if a man is a cripple and debarred from men's work, he may cook; if there are no older sisters, a boy may help his mother prepare the Sunday feast. The one berdache on the island spends much of his time cooking with the women. Men always prepare pigs for cooking.

In former days it was tapu to eat or to carry food into the sleep house. All eating was done inside the *wale imu* or out-of-doors. Even today an adult Pukapukan rarely eats in a sleep house, though children often carry food into the house.

COCONUT DISHES

Coconut has always been the basic food of the Pukapukans. Unlike talo and fish, which are not sufficiently plentiful, coconut in some form is eaten every day. Informants regard it as the best of Pukapukan foods because it gives the greatest variety of dishes. They say that the minimum number of nuts a man in good health requires each day to keep him strong and healthy is 10 large-sized drinking nuts, besides plenty of fish. During the great famine the daily ration of each person was four nuts which, with a little fish, was the only food. This was enough to maintain life but not enough to keep the people strong.

Coconuts are eaten exclusively by sick persons because of the tapu on their eating fish and because of the scarcity of talo. No stage of the nut or any portion of it is tapu at this time.

The coconut in its various stages is most often eaten uncooked. Methods of eating and preparing are:

1. The sweet husk of the *mangalo* is chewed (*ngaungau*) and sucked until it is dry. The edible husk is not grated for use as a flavoring in other dishes, as it is elsewhere, but is eaten ungrated and uncooked by itself or with a complement of hard, mature coconut flesh (*ipiipi*) or fish.

2. Occasionally *uukomuko* is baked (*uukomuko tao*) and eaten with *ipiipi*. The leafy growth or tissue (*uiko*) in the heart of the coconut tree is eaten only when a tree is blown down or cut out. It is never taken from a living tree; to do so would kill the tree.

3. Nuts at the *mata* and *katiati* stages are eaten raw or are baked (*niu mata tao* and *niu katiati tao*) and eaten without a food complement (*kinaki*).

4. The following is the method employed in making *niu halohalo* from the *niu mata:* The drinking liquid is poured into an empty shell, and the nut is grated with the *halohalo* implement. Then the liquid is poured back, and the grated flesh and liquid are stirred together (*ysu*). This is especially an infant's food. From the *niu mata* is also made *ipu niu halohalo* by baking the unopened nut in the oven or by cooking on hot coals or stones a nut opened at the eyes and propped up on stones. After baking or cooking the flesh is grated and mixed with the hot liquid. This is prepared especially for sick persons. The unopened *niu mata* is cooked on hot stones (*niu mata fuwa*). The hot liquid is considered especially beneficial for parturient women.

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